care, the most effective speech in favor of the bill, and it was the only one he proposed to make. He asked that the bill be now put upon its passage.

It was read, and proposes to pay, under the direction of the President of the United States, to each officer, musician, and private, who, on the 21st of December, embarked at New York under artiers for California on board the steamship San Franmeso, and who were on board that vessel during her recent disaster, a sum equal in amount to his pay and al-lowances for four months. If any such officer, non-comoned officer, musician, or private shall have died before receiving this payment, from any cause conse-quent upon said disaster, then his widow, or, if no wi-dow, then the minor children, if any, shall be allowed an

The bill was then read the third time and passed.

Mr. RICHARDSON, from the Committee on Territories, to which was referred House joint resolution authorizing the accounting officers of the Treasury to adjust the expenses of a board of commissioners appointed by the Territorial Assembly of Oregon to prepare a code of lass; also, to adjust the expenses of collating and printing certain laws and archives of the Territory of Oregon, respected the same back without amendment; when it was read the third time and passed.

Mr. FULLER, from the Committee on Commerce, reperced a bill to constitute Quincy, in the State of Illinois, m port of delivery; which was read twice.

Mr. RICHARDSON made a few remarks in explanation

of this bill, and asked that it might now be acted on. Considerable debate ensued, when the bill was read the third time and passed.

MILITARY ACADEMY BILL.

The morning hour having expired, the House proceedand to consider the bill making appropriations for the sup-port of the Military Academy for the year ending June 20, 1855, yesterday reported from the Committee of the

Mr. SMITH, of New York, opposed the bill. He said that he believed in the progress of the human race, and resisted at the idea of ever-growing civilization. Therefore the was that his heart was always afflicted when he saw any festation of the war spirit, for he believed the spirit of war to be the spirit of barbarism. Notwithstanding o so mighty a hindrance to the progress of civilization ass war, and, regarding this bill as connected with the spirit of war, he would use all honorable means to defeat the thought it ineffably strange and sad that in any matten, professing, as this did, the principles of peace, the mar spirit should be so rabid. It was a gross inconsistessey that in such a nation there should be any manifestations of war. "My voice is still for war," were the words attributed to a celebrated Roman. As that Roman was a Pagan, and lived more than two thousand years ago, twas not strange that he was the advocate of war; that we, who had had two thousand years more of retrospect of the errors of war, instead of having a christian see of right and wrong, should be the advocates of war, was indeed passing strange.

The bill was then read the third time and passed. INVALID AND OTHER PENSIONS.

The bill making appropriations for the payment of inwalled and other pensions of the United State for the year cooling the 30th June, 1855, was next taken up, read the third time, and passed.

DEFICIENCY BILL-NEW YORK POLITICS. On motion of Mr. HOUSTON, the House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. ORR, of South Carolina, in the chair,) and resumed the consideration of the bill to supply deficiencies in the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1854.

Mr. SMITH, of Alabama, then resumed the remarks he commenced yesterday, and occupied the remainder of

Mr. PERKINS, of Louisiana, obtained the floor, when Mr. JONES, of Tennessee, offered a resolution to close

debate in Committee of the Whole on the deficiency till in one hour after its consideration shall have again

Pending which the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1854.

IN SENATE.

Mr. PETTIT desired to offer a resolution, (one of inguiry merely,) and he did so in consequence of having inst received a letter from an old and much esteemed friend on the subject of extending the construction of the mension laws so as to provide for the widows of those was served in the war of 1812. The reasons given by the writter were certainly pretty strong ones, and he would state them for the benefit of the Senate.

Firstly. That if a woman was worthy to be the wife of a brave man who was ready to sacrifice his life in the service of his country, she would be just the very kind of waman most likely to marry a second time.

Secondly, and perhaps not less strong, that the wants of a widow who had buried two husbands were quite as great as those of a woman who had only buried one. Now, as he could not give any stronger reasons, and the resolution was one simply of inquiry, he would ask

that it might be adopted. The resolution was read as follows, and agreed to: Missolved, That the Committee on Pensions inquire whether the faws need any amendment to give full effect to the design

of Congress in granting pensions to the widows and soldiers of the war of 1812.

THE SONORA EXPEDITION

Mr. GWIN. Mr. President, I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate to offer a resolution personal in its bearing upon the State which I in part represent here. I desire it to be considered now, and I wish to give the reasome why it should be adopted. I will detain the Senate but a very few moments. I think that when honorable Segators hear the resolution read they will see the reason The should be granted the courtesy:

Memberd, That the President of the United States be re guarated to communicate to the Senate the number of ships-of war on the coast of California, Oregon, and Washington, whether in active service or lying in port unemployed; also, the number on the whole Pacific coast of North and South America, and their cruising grounds; also, whether, in his mainfon, the naval force of the United States on the Pacific seast in the year 1853 was sufficient to prevent the departure them us to foreign territory of any unlawful expedition that satisfact be havelly formed from the adventurous persons usually the be found at all points of great commercial activity and encerptive, whether in the United States or Europe; also, the zumber of ships-of-war on the Atlantic coast and other cruising grounds, whether in active service or lying in port unyed; also, the number of troops in California, Oregon,

Mr. Gwin said that he was induced to offer the above resolution from having read the Proclamation of the President of the United States (printed in another column) amoreming the late expedition fitted out at California to invade the friendly territory of Mexico.

This proclamation (said Mr. Gwin) was issued against persons who are said to be citizens of the State of Cali-fornia. I wish to bring to the notice of the Senate and the country a fact which I think it is proper should go cant to the country with that proclamation, and it is this: them up in the State of California, the United States ma force there to prevent the sailing of such expeditions. I wish to bring to the notice of the Senate and the country that at the very time the first expedition went from California a single steamship-of-war, with a single gun, would have prevented it. And, sir, is there no allowance to be made for the state of the country which was its des-function—Lower California and Sonora? Sir, here was an expedition of forty-five men that passed out without construction from the Golden Gate, less than a mile wide, which any one gun can command as against a ship mithout cannon; and they went to a country as large as half a dozen States of this Confederacy, took possession

of it, and issued a proclamation proclaiming a republic. If the President of the United States intends to pre west such expeditions there or elsewhere, he should have storce of the United States to prevent their departure. It the time that this vessel left the harbor of San Francisco there were but two ships-of-war in active service on the whole Pacific coast of South and North Americaone at the Sandwich Islands, having been ordered there for the purpose of preventing the consummation of one of the expeditions referred to in the proclamation; the asher, as we all supposed, was cruising at the mouth of the Gulf of California, but subsequent information informs as that it had been ordered to the coast of Peru to look safter some difficulties which our Government has had

Now, on a coast of over five thousand miles we had two ships-of-war to protect our commerce and mainfain our neutrality obligations. Is it not a farce to say

first such a force can accomplish these objects? There was also a second expedition reported to have smiled from San Prancisco in a vessel, with two hundred seed fifty men on board, which was towed out of the hartop by a steamship without the slightest obstacle on the Because it had no force there. When we ask for a steamcourt, we are told that it costs too much; and when I we much money. This miserable system of economy has the Government of the United States had but a sufficient us without Government power either to defend us force there, and had used it efficiently, such expedition from an enemy or prevent the sailing of unlawful expectation.

allow one moment's time for reflection, would be, he was go where we please, and violate any law we please, so far any the most effective speech in favor of the bill, and as the power of the Government is concerned; for the only law rigidly executed there is the law of taxing us and col-

lecting the revenue from us.

Mr. President, I am opposed to all unlawful expeditions of this sort; but it must be known that in a new country like California, where there are so many adven-turous spirits, and where the countries adjoining us are offered to us simply for the going and taking them, the power of the United States must be vigilantly and properly executed if such expeditions are not to be car-

Mr. President, it must be known to the people of this country that when there are some of the richest mineral countries in the world adjoining the State of California, with a population utterly unable to defend them against the Indian tribes in their neighborhood, expeditions of this kind will proceed from California, unless the force of the United States there is sufficient to prevent them. Wherever our people go they carry wealth, power, and prosperity with them, and never forget the principles of iberty they have inherited from our forefathers; and although such expeditions should not be encouraged or allowed, if they succeed the present inhabitants will be more powerful and prosperous through the change of government than they ever now or can expect to be without

What is the condition of our army on the Pacific coast It is not and never has been efficient, from local causes that we have failed to remedy by legislation, although urged to do so. These expeditions can go by land to Sonora, and, in my opinion, have gone or will go; and this paper proclamation of the President will have no effect in stopping any such expedition, because we have no force

It is useless for the Chief Magistrate of these United States to attempt, by proclamation, to stop any such expedition. As long as the principle of territorial expansion is recognised, and such countries lay on our border as Lower California, Sonora, and the Sandwich Islands just for the taking, and the Government of the United States opposes no effective preventive force, you will find citizens of the United States engaged in such enterprises; and they will be successful. Proclamations without effi-cient force will not stop them.

Why have we not had a steampship-of-w r on the Pacific coast? Because it is said to be too expensive on a sea-coast of sixteen hundred miles. Coal there costs thirty or forty dollars per ton, when here we can get it Here we see again that miserable system of economy, penny-wise and pound-foolish, that destroys all of the efficiency of Government, and my constituents are to be branded with infamy for violating laws that there is no power to enforce.

I warn the country that unless the power of the Government is exercised efficiently on that coast, they cannot expect us to stand still when we are invited into these nagnificent countries which lie around us and see the Indians take possession of them, when we can get them at the will of the inhabitants.

I am very much surprised at the issuing of this proclamation at this time, because it comes too late. anxious to aid the President of the United States in observing our neutrality laws; and if it is true that a treaty has been negotiated lately by which a large portion of Mexico is to come into our possession, it shows inevitably that the public sentiment of the people of the United States, as reflected by the Executive, desires possession of the territory negotiated for, whether in the way of purchase or otherwise.

I hope that treaty embraces all of the territory on oorder which Mexico is not able to protect from such incursions and Indian depredations, and that we will have a mountain or desert boundary between the two Govern-ments that can be defended by each. If it does not embrace such an extent of country, I shall favor such a modification of it as will accomplish this desirable object.

Mr. PETTIT. I do not know that I have any objection to the proposition which has been offered by the Senator from California: nor am I disposed to cast any reflections upon his constituents, whom he defends so ably. But I must be allowed to say that I think it is the strangest defence that I ever heard given of any man's constituents. He, in effect, says that if you will surround his constituents with bolts and bars, with war steamers, with soldiers with arms in their hands, they will cease stealing and marauding: that they will be honest, forsooth, if you will compel them to be honest. Who would not be honest under such circumstances? Why, sir, he says there are inviting fields of gold, rich mineral wealth, and broad acres that are desirable to the eye there. Where are uch not to be found? And he says that his constituents. intelligent, and worthy, and peaceable as they are, or as he would make us believe they are, cannot restrain their own greedy, grasping appetites to appropriate that which belongs to their neighbors unless you surround them with They are constituents that no man ought to be a wall.

proud of, however proud he may be.

Sir, I regretted to hear, and I am sorry to have it alleged on the floor of the Senate of the United States, that any portion of our fellow-citizens, in order to keep them within the bounds of duty as individuals and citizens of this Republic towards all other countries and all other men, must be constrained by force in a body. I know that in all communities there are law-breakers, those who will not abide the law, those who must be restrained; but I did not suppose that it pertained to whole bodies of men, whole communities, and whole localities. Why, sir, it is in effect saying, in neighborhood transactions—for nations are but individuals in a situation of neighborhood towards each other, and should act in like Mr. GWIN. Mr. President, the St. manner—that the rights of neighborhood cannot be main-tained. The peaceable citizen, who is a member of a local society and observes his own rights and those of his neighbors: who neither suffers his own to be trampled upon nor wantonly tramples upon those of his neighbor; who neither allows his own property to be appropriated lawiessly for the benefit of another, nor wantonly, with rapine, lays his hands upon the property of others, will conduct himself in like manner as a member of society

and a portion of a Government. Sir, the Senator has said neither more nor less than that these men, his constituents, whom he calls such, if their neighbors' houses lay open, and treasures of gold and valuable commodities were to be found in them, and there was not a watch-dog or sentinel at the door, would forget all morals, all law, and all right, and wantonly pos-

sess themselves of their neighbors' goods. Sir, I am sorry to hear it said that any portion of our people, in great masses at any rate, are so disposed. I did not believe, I could not believe it was so. I am sorry to hear any Senator upon the floor of the Senate of the United States announce that his constituents are so disposed that nothing but bars and bolts, not laws, not statutes, not moral strength or moral sussion, nor any regard to duty, public or private, will restrain them from this ; but the force and power of the Government must rapacity be applied to prevent it. Sir, it may be possible, and I cordially agree with that

Senator in saying that I do not think there is a sufficient force upon the Pacific coast. It ought to be there, but for other and different purposes. The Golden Gate should be fortified and defended; there should be more men-ofwar steamers belonging to the military marine upon that coast or in that ocean. But I protest that it ought not to be there for the purpose of preventing the citizens from stealing and robbing. It should not be necessary to have such a force there to prevent these things, but the moral force and intelligence which should govern all portions of the constituents of all of us should be sufficient for that purpose. Your guns should be there to guard and pro-

ect the integrity and security of your own territory.

Mr. GWIN. Mr. President, the Senator from Indiana states that I got up here to defend my constituents for committing acts of lawless robbery, because the United States did not put bolts and bars around them to prevent

them from doing it.

Mr. PETTIT. If the Senator will allow me, I will correct him. I did not say that he had got up to defend them, but that he had got up undertaking to defend his constituents, not for that act, but admitting that they were of that class who would rob and steal if not prohi-

bited or prevented by bolts and bars. Mr. GWIN. That is not true. I made no such statement, and no such legitimate inference can be drawn from what I did state. I said that the President had issued a proclamation against certain expeditions which had passed from California for the purpose of invading a foreign territory; and I gave as a reason why these expeditions had passed from our territory that the Government of the United States had failed to put such a force there as would prevent their sailing. He says this is defending stealing, and that I am in favor of having bolts and bars put around my constituents. Why, sir, what do his constituents have at home to prevent lawless acts, perhaps a

requent there as in any State in the Union?

Mr. PETTIT. Their Senators do not talk about it on Mr. GWIN. The Senator shall not interrupt me.

The PRESIDENT. Order!
Mr. GWIN. There are jails and penitentiaries for culprits in Indiana. The State authorities protect the citizens against acts of depredation. But who but the Government of the United States has control of the foreign police of the country? How is the President to enforce his proclamation unless by using the arm of the United

Sir, I was not defending these expeditions, but I was aying that the President of the United States could not have prevented them with the effective force of the Unithat appropriations shall be made to put that coast in a state of defence, I am almost scouted at, because it costs with neglect, nor him who preceded him; but I said, if the Government of the United States had but a sufficient could not have sailed from our ports. Is this defending them? I do not say that there are not lawless men in Here now we are proclaimed to the world as going to California; but not more than in other sections of the and disturbing the peace of other nations, by expeditions country who cannot conform to that important precept of

and the fife summoned volunteers to go to Texas from the various portions of the Atlantic coast, that the Gov-ernment was censured for not preventing such move-ments; nor am I defending them. No, sir. But I say, when the President issues such a proclamation, it is the duty of this Government to provide means for its en-forcement, and to have that kind of force on the spot which is necessary to prevent the organization of such expeditions. That is the ground which I take. With what justice and truth can any Senator charge me with defending any lawless acts? My constituents pay taxes to keep up an army and navy, and we are entitled to the benefit of them, either for protection against a foreign enemy or to enforce our neutrality laws, if that be necessary. As to surrounding the country with bolts and bars, or an army or navy, I ask for no such thing. There is at present but one point on the Pacific coast where such an expedition could be fitted out-the harbor of San Francisco-and that, as I stated before, a single steamship with one gun could effectually arrest. I am not interfering at all in regard to these expeditions, nor defending them, but I say that such a proclamation, backed by no force, will have no other effect but to irritate the people of that State. I wish to call the attention of the Senate and the

country to the fact that there is not a gun mounted on the Pacific coast, that there was not a ship of war when these expeditions sailed within thousands of miles of our coast. I wish to get this information before the American people to show the necessity of having some means of defence there against foreign enemies as well as law-

Mr. BADGER. Mr. President, I agree with the honorable Senator from California that there ought to have been a force on the Pacific coast sufficient to enable the officers of the United States to prevent the setting out of this lawless expedition, the successful prosecution of asked for in the estimates of the Navy Department. Here which from one of the ports of the United States is calin my place, as the organ of the Committee on Naval culated to inflict a deep reproach upon our national character. But I must be permitted to say that I think the honorable Senator from California is mistaken in attributing blame on account of the omission to have such a force there either to the present or late Administration.

That Senator and myself well know that the system of cutting down the estimates, which obtained during the vocated the increase of the navy; and why should the last Congress and the Congress before, left both the late and the present Administration without the pecuniary means of maintaining such a force there as should make the Government at all times prepared to execute its laws and vindicate the character of the country against these

lawless depredators upon peaceable States adjoining to us.

Now, sir, it is possible, nay, it is probable, that it
might have been in the power of the present Secretary
of the Navy, or of the late Secretary, or of his immediate predecessor in office, to have placed sufficient force on the Pacific coast; and my friend from California knows that, in order to do that with the existing means of the Government and the amount of naval force at his command, he would have been necessarily obliged to weaken the naval power which the interests of the country require should be maintained in other parts of the world. I think, therefore, that, so far as any blame can be laid to the Government on this subject, we of the two Houses of Congress must assume to foot the bill.

The Administration present and the Administration past, so far as I see, are both blameless upon that subject. They have stated to us in their estimates what the necessities of the country require. They have asked that the necessary amount should be voted. Congress has refused. There are no means by which a President of the United States can raise money but through the instrumentality of an act of Congress. He cannot levy "ship-money," as the Kings of England did. He cannot make involuntary contributions under the denomination of "benevolences." He can only apply what you place at his disposal to maintain the honor and enforce the laws of the United States. I feel persuaded, strongly persuaded, that if the Senator from California and myself, who always resisted in the Committee on Naval Affairs and on this floor this system of capriciously and arbitrarily striking down the appropriations, could have been successful in our views, this late transaction would not have happened-which we all deplore, and which will be considered abroad as a reproach upon our national character, as if we were disposed to look with toleration, if not with favor, upon such lawless adventurers upon the deminions of peaceful Powers in our neighborhood. I thought it right to say thus much, because I think that

while we are speaking in just terms of indignation of such a proceeding, it is right not to inflict blame where the blame does not properly lie.

The discussion was further continued by Messrs.
BRODHEAD, SHIELDS, MASON, DAWSON, GWIN,

Mr. FITZPATRICK, in pursuance of notice, introduced a bill to relinquish the reversionary interest of the United States to a certain reservation therein mentioned, and to confirm the title of Charles G. Gunter thereto; which was

and BADGER, when the resolution was laid over for the

referred to the Committee on Private Land Claims. Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, I will not protract this debate, for what has been said by my honorable friend from Indiana, (Mr. Perrir,) and my distinguished friend from North Carolina, (Mr. BADGER,) makes it unnecessary for me to say a word. Sir, I regretted to see the Senator from California rise in his place and charge the President of the United States with a neglect of duty-for it amounts to that-in that he had not furnished sufficient

Mr. GWIN. Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois is surely mistaken. I have not said any thing of the sort. Mr. SHIELDS. What the honorable Senator said surely amounts to that.

Mr. GWIN. It certainly does not; and I did not intend any such thing.

Mr. SHIELDS. He charges the Government of the United States, as I understand, with blame and censure for not having a naval force on the Pacific coast to prevent these unlawful expeditions; and yet he is the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, whose especial duty it is to furnish that force; and he has neglected or has been unable to furnish a sufficient force to the President to prevent these unlawful expeditions. So, sir, with regard to the military force on that coast, that is also insufficient; but we cannot blame the President because he has not furnished a force which does not exist. Our navy is insufficient to protect our coast, and our army is also

insufficient. The Senator from California, if I understand him, also blames the President for issuing this proclamation. Sir, I think the President would not be worthy of the position that he holds if he did not issue such a proclamation. He must, so far as he can do it, as the Executive head of this nation, absolve the nation from the disgrace of these lawless, unprincipled, vagabond expeditions. The honorable Senator seems to justify this pitiful expedition of fortyfive men, as I understand him-

Mr. GWIN. I do not wish the Senator to misunderstand me at all. I did not begin or pretend to justify it, and I have not done so from the first; but I stated that t went out because there was no force to arrest it.

Mr. SHIELDS. I am glad to find that the Senator loes not justify it. I am glad to find that there is not me Senator on this floor who will justify such an expedition. Before the Senator charges the President of the United States with neglect of duty, or reproaches him, he should rise in his place and tell us where the President was to find the vessels to go there to protect that

Sir, I have more than contempt for such expeditions as this Walker expedition upon that poor, helpless, de-fenceless, and unsuspecting population. My opinion is, that the men who could go there, who could go down upon the poor defenceless inhabitants of the frontier of Mexico and surprise them, as it were, would do what they have done when they meet with resistance—fly back to their vessels again.

I repeat what was said by the honorable Senator from

North Carolina, that such expeditions are bringing re-proach upon the country; and the President would share n that reproach if he did not pursue some course to ar-

Mr. GWIN. Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois might have withheld his reproaches upon these men, who are now in their graves. The last intelligence informs us that they have all been put to death. It was uncalled for to reproach men who have suffered for the crimes which he alleges they have committed. Sir, it is one of the charges which I bring against the efficiency of this Government that it has not been able to stop such expeditions and prevent such catastrophes.

Mr. SHIELDS. Will the honorable Senator tell us wherein the dereliction of the Government consists?

Mr. GWIN. If the gentleman had listened to the resolution he would have seen that it asked the President of the United States to inform us where the naval forces of the country are. I can tell him where some of our ships-

of-war are. I do not pretend to say that the expedition to Japan has not had beneficent, useful, and important purposes to accomplish. I do not pretend to say that the naval force in that expedition is not properly and usefully employed; but, sir, if the President of the United States annot maintain our neutrality, and keep so large a squadron in that service, the question presents itself hether it would not be better to order one of the steam ships-of war accompanying and composing part of that squadron to the coast of California. Sir, I was in favor of the Japan expedition; but I simply wish to know whether it is not the duty of the Chief Magistrate of this nation to place the naval force of the United States—ins I acknowledge it to be-so as to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and that our commerce and our honor, as a nation, are not infringed upon; and if he has done so. I do not and have no cause to as done so, I do not and have no cause to complain.

Again, sir, we have a surveying expedition to Behring's Straits, in which five vessels-of-war are employed. I was

ratively our duty to increase the navy, and thus enable the Executive to execute his whole duty to the people of the United States as well as to foreign nations.

I have attached no blame to the President. I have

simply stated a fact, which should be recorded in the history of this country, that, inefficient as our navy is, we have great and grand expeditions in remote portions of the globe, away from our territory, within which such expeditions as are referred to in the proclamation are being fitted out, and there is not a ship of war to prevent their sailing. The object of my resolution is to get information as to where the navy, inefficient as it distributed when these expeditions sailed from California : and I wish to know what power the President has at his command to execute with effect the proclamation which he has issued? He threatens punishment against the persons engaged in such expeditions. What power has he to bring those thus engaged before the courts-for you cannot punish except where the crime is committedwhat forces, military or naval, is there on the Pacific to | navy. execute that proclamation? For what practical purposes is the proclamation issued when there is no power within trol of the Executive on that coast to have it respected?

It is well known to the Senator from Illinois and to every member of this body, that ever since I have been at the head of the Committee on Naval Affairs I have been for increasing the navy. It is known that I have, in my place, time and again, brought forward and urged upon the Senate the necessity of appropriating the Affairs, I asked last session for the building of five or Senator refer to me, as chairman of the Naval Committee, when he says Congress is to blame for our inefficient navy, the other House of Congress? I censure no one, nor any branch of the Government, but state a fact which cannot be controverted, that so long as that coast of one thousand six hundred miles in extent is filled up with an adventurous people, who have the privilege of gathering the rich fruits which lie alongside them, you cannot keep down these expeditions without an efficient naval force. And I say, further, that when the President issues a proclamation of this nature he should ask Congress for power to enable him to see that proclamation executed. It is our duty to prevent such terrible catastrophes as took place at Havana, where fifty American citizens were shot down like dogs, and, as has recently occurred in Mexico, where, according to the last information we have received, these forty-five individuals who invaded Lower California were put to death.

I know perfectly well that these expeditions are calculated to cast a stain upon the country; and the Executive will, when called upon, do me the justice to state that of this Government; and if any deleterious consequences ever since I have been here I have been urging him to have arisen the fault is here with us. exercise the whole of his power in supplying the defi-ciency of the navy on the Pacific coast, by chartering vessels to prevent the sailing of such expeditions, and protect those engaged in them from being put to death on a foreign soil without trial. The people of California are no more in favor of lawless expeditions than citizens of other States with the same temptation.

Mr. BRODHEAD. Mr. President, it seems to me that we have already all the information which is called for by this resolution. The honorable Senator from California informs us that he desires to know how our nava force and ships-of-war have been employed? Why, Secretary of the Navy has informed us in the report which was communicated to us by the President of the United States at the opening of the session. I have no objection, sir, that the Senator from California shall make the statement which he has given to the Senate. It may all be right. It may be necessary that he should call to it the attention of the Senate; but it is quite unnecessary for us to pass this resolution; for we shall receive no fur ther information from the President of the United States when he answers the call than we possess already.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, it is very certa the honor of the country, as well as its safety, is deeply interested in preventing these marauding expeditions from eaving our shores with a view to commit depredations apon foreign Powers; but I am not prepared to say, at present at least, that this Government is to change its olicy in the use of the military force which is placed at oolicy in the use of the initiary local and its disposal, either by sea or land, for the purpose of preventing our people from violating the laws. I had not the pleasure of hearing all that fell from the Senator from California, but I think I heard enough from him to understand his position to be this: that our navy is to be increased for the purpose of requiring the laws to be exeented against our own citizens.

Mr. GWIN. The Senator will permit me to state that what I said was this: if there had been a single ship-ofwar in the harbor of San Francisco when these expeditions were fitted out it would have been impossible for them to have sailed; and the Government of the United tates should execute the neutrality laws, by prethe fitting out of such expeditions within our own harbors, and within a marine league of the coast of the United States. I did not pretend to say that the navy of the United States could be used out upon the sea in pursuing expeditions got up in the United States.

Mr. MASON. I did not ascribe any such statement to the honorable Senator at all: but I understood the drift of his remarks to be that we ought to increase the navy for some purpose, and, among other reasons, because it is shown that a navy is required to prevent the citizens of the country from violating the laws of the country. Now, sir, I deny that absolutely and positively. I am no enemy to an increase of the navy, provided the navy is increased for the legitimate purposes of the navy. understand the legitimate purposes of our navy. It understand the legitimate purposes of our navy, in time of peace, to be simply to protect our commerce; and I agree in the policy of the late Administration and of the present Administration, that when they can safely and prudently employ a portion of the navy in the navigation of foreign seas and the exploration of foreign waters for the purpose of increasing our commerce, it is a legitimate use of it; because nothing gives a greater stimulant to the products of the country than the means of commer-

cial exchange abroad. Now, I understood the Senator from California further to say, or at least I gathered from what fell from him after I came into the Senate chamber, that he thought it was not the part of the Executive to have issued this proclamation until he first provided there a competent

Mr. GWIN. No, sir : I stated the fact that the cause of this proclamation originated from the want of a proper naval and military force to see that the laws of the United States were executed; and I wish the Senator to understand that I am entirely in favor of using the navy in the way he mentioned to promote our commerce. MASON. I have no doubt the Senator from Cali-

fornia has well said that, from the adventurous character of the population who have gone to our Pacific border, these expeditions are more likely to be fitted out from that quarter than from any part of the Atlantic coast; but I understood him to say, further, and doubtless to say correctly, that there was no point upon that extended seacoast where such an expedition could have been fitted out but at San Francisco.

Mr. GWIN. My reason for that remark was this: San Francisco is a city of large population. In other por-

tions—in the sparsely-settled parts of the country—an ex-pedition of this sort could not have been gotten up without such notoriety as would have defeated its object.

Mr. MASON. I understood it so; and it is certainly no reflection on the people of the city of San Francisco

such an expedition could have embarked. Now, sir, I have understood the policy of this country to be to rely upon the people of the country to protect each other by seeing to the due execution of the laws. Our Federal Government has no police distributed throughout the country for the purpose of seeing that the laws so large. When we stopped the appropriations for a few Senate, that when the day comes that we must have an executed; and I will say to the Senator and to the Senate, that when the day comes that we must have an ed a flood-gate of claims against this country amounting armed police, by land or water, to see to the execution of to three or four times the sum by which we diminished the laws of the United States, the days of the liberties of the appropriations. When those claims shall be present-the country are numbered. I protest against any such ed, if I shall be honored with a seat on this floor, I shall policy being avowed in the Senate or adopted by the attempt to give a historical sketch of the action of this

lawless combinations for the purpose of violating the under that treaty.

laws, or that any such would be formed. In such a case Now, sir, a few words as to the expedition of which my

posed to hold any President to account who did it.
mean, of course, as a general policy, as a general measure of safety. Doubtless, when the occasion arises,
when there is a proper and substantial reason to believe
that such an expedition is about to be fitted out, it is the
duty of the President, if he believes it necessary, upon
high reaponsibility, to use the forces of the country to prevent it; but I say that the idea of keeping ships in our ports, or any where upon our waters, lest such a thing should occur, is a policy new and unheard of. Now, sir, a few words in reference to this particular

enting these expeditions from being fitted out, it will be useless for the Federal Government to attempt it, unless it employs a large portion of the navy for that purpose. I am against using the navy for any such purpose as a

Senate that the navy must be so used, I, for one, must cept as auxiliary to the civil power to execute the pro-Sir, I am not personally informed as to the facts, but

have no doubt, from what we see in the newspapers, that the President has taken measures, and efficient measures, to prevent the recurrence of these transactions without the use of armed ships stationed at the ports of California to prevent them. All I wish to do is to protest against any such policy as that the navy is to be enlarged or is to be used for the purpose of preventing our own people from violating their own laws. Mr. DAWSON. Mr. President, the turn which this

depate has taken makes it a very important matter for is what I mean to say. I have no do the country to understand really the grounds which give that has been conferred on the Pres. sion, by the unanimous approval of the committee, brought the country to understand really the grounds which give forward a report endorsing the recommendation of the origin to it. I did not understand the Senator from California to make any charge against the late Administra- I do not, however, want to enter upon tion or the present Administration for a want of discussion of duty. The question which now arises is this: Has the President of the United States sufficient means of defence I do not wish to continue the discussion to provoke it; but when a proclamatic process of my State getting. when he knows the fault does not lie with me, but with | may occur in this large and extended country? Have we an army sufficient? Have we a navy sufficient? These are the questions which naturally propound themselves on an occasion of this sort. Have we forgotten that, under the treaty with Mexico, we are bound to protect the line of frontier between the United States and Mexico from Indian depredations ? Is it not now well understood that already claims against this Government arising out of that treaty amount to something in the neighborhood of \$20,000,000? And will it be forgotten that the late Administration called upon the Congress of the United States to give it the means of carrying out the treaty, ther we ought to adopt this resolution. I h and protecting the Mexicans and the Americans on either side of the line? Were the means granted? Were the 'day. It seems to me, sir, that the resolution, two mounted regiments which were asked for by the late any specific information is desired which the President of the United States and his Secretary of War allowed? No, sir; but the appropriations necessary to carry out that request were denied; and denied by whom? Not by the Executive, but by the Legislative department sage, have stated the disposition made of the milit.

> Have we forgotten what transpired only twelve months since, when the very idea suggested by my friend from the United States was sufficient to have prevented the Virginia, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, as to the sufficiency of the civil power of the coun- put to the President of the United States ; be try to protect this Government and to put down all at- as I am able to see, without any reasonable foundation tempts at fillibustering, was brought forward? Was it not any facts known to us, it implies that he might have p then thought that the courts alone were to attend to these vented what he nevertheless has not prevented, and as matters? Then, I know, some members here regarded the effort of the last Administration to stop the Cuban ex- better with the naval force than he actually has done. pedition as a wrong interference, and it was said that the civil authority alone should interfere in these matters. Now, sir, I did not understand the Senator from California as making any charge against the Government on matter in that shape. It is slightly deficient in respect any of these accounts. All that he desires is to know towards the President, in asking him whether the force whether the Government is in an attitude sufficient to pro- | was sufficient to have enabled him to prevent the occurtect its honor and to maintain its standing and its obli- rence of these transactions. We must take it for granted gations towards foreign nations? I say it is not. Our that it was not, or he would have prevented them. What military force is not sufficient, and our army must be in- I mean is this: that if the President had anticipated this creased; not with the idea of having a standing army event, and had a disposable naval force at his command, thrown upon the country for no necessary purpose, but he undoubtedly would have prevented it. To imply that for a far different reason. From the extension of our he would not, as the inquiry seems to do, or that he might

> tween parties in this country relative to a standing army had better not be adopted. or a large navy cease to exist, because the present condition of the army and navy does not come up to the requi-sitions of either of the great parties of the country. Pro-sident of the United States by it. I simply wished to tection is the only object of this proposed increase. The object is not to place an incubus upon the country by an force to be employed there to prevent the expedition. I overwhelming army for needless purposes, or by a navy did not intend to censure any body. I only wanted the to rot in your docks: not so. Our character as a nation facts properly presented to the country. I am willing to has grown; our importance as a nation has grown; and our dignity now can alone be maintained, with that respect due to it from foreign nations, by the power to en-force any obligation that may exist upon us as a nation, and any duty that may exist on the part of the citizens

> towards the Government. Now, sir, what I wish to say is this: We have gradually gone on disappointing the hopes and expectations of the various Administrations in this regard. President Fillmore, foreseeing, like a judicious man, what was the growing condition of this country, and what would be its Constitution in the mode of electing the President and necessities, called upon us years ago to increase the navy and to increase the army, to give to the Executive Departments of the Government the power to enforce all the duties which are required of them. Have you done it, gentlemen? Who cut down the appropriations for miligentlemen: who cut down the appropriations for min-tary purposes and for naval purposes during the last year? The reports of our proceedings in the Senate and in the House of Representatives will tell. Is the failure of the Representatives of the people to provide for these things to be charged upon this Administration or upon the late Administration? Certainly not. The fault is

> here, sir, not with the Executive. I am no friend to a large standing army; I have never given a vote with that object in view; but I am prepared, as one of the members of the Committee on Military Affairs, to which I have belonged since my first entry into this body, to say that the military force of the country should be increased. That committee has, from time to time, in accordance with the recommendations of the President of the United States, asked you to increase the army. It was not done. They asked you to provide for raising two mounted regiments to enforce your treaties, and carry out honestly and honorably your obligations. That was not done. Look at the extent of frontier line between us and Mexico, and then let the future tell this ountry what millions will have to be paid, under that by this Government to the Mexicans, on account treaty. of our failure to carry out its obligations. Then, when we ask you for the power to do so, and it is not done, who is to blame? Do not charge it upon the President of the messure suggested by the President. United States, or upon the Executive Department of the Government, but upon yourselves-the Representatives of the people-who, for the purpose of keeping down the appropriations, have voted against them to gratify the people at home, who are unacquainted with these facts; and you have thus brought our present unfortunate condition upon us.

> A word now in relation to the navy. I have voted for every increase of the navy which has been presented slavery agitation, so far as Congress is concerned; and since I have been here, for it has been presented in detail. The Committee on Naval Affairs, headed by my to all new territory, whether it should be Nebraska, Cuba, honorable friend from California, has reported, for last three or four years, in favor of an enlargement of the navy; and for what reason? To protect our sea-ports, to protect our commerce, and to interdict these of Pennsylvania in regard to the Eric difficulties. the navy; and for what reason? To protect our seafillibustering expeditions, which are so well calculated to dishonor this Union abroad. Who failed to carry out these propositions which were thus presented?

presentatives of the people.

Why, then, will any man insinuate upon this floor or to say that, because from the number of the population any where else that the late or the present President of and the facilities given there, it is the only point where ments have failed to do their duty? They have uniformly, boldly, and strenuously recommended to us to do what they thought we ought to do: but we, in our wisdom, turned a deaf ear to their suggestions, and pronounced Government in relation to these appropriations, from the Sir, I read the proclamation of the President this morn- time of the ratification of the treaty with Mexico down ing, and he has done only what his predecessors have done, from the days of Gen. Washington down, whenever they have had reason to believe that there were existing order to carry out the obligations which were incurred

it is the duty of the President to issue a proclamation, advising his countrymen of the consequences of such violation of the laws. And why is it issued? It is issued ment. It is one of the incidents belonging to a republican form of government. It is one of the incidents belonging to the peculiar for the very purpose of giving notice to the people of the country that such combinations are likely to arise, in order that the people may put them down.

Who ever heard of stationing a ship in any one of our them a better government than they now have. Men can Who ever heard of stationing a ship in any one of our ports for the purpose of preventing expeditions from going abroad? Sir, if a ship were stationed in the Chesapeake Bay or in Hampton Roads, within the limits of the State which I have the honor to represent here, for the purpose of teaching her people their duty, I apprehend they would be false to the reputation which they have acquired from their fathers if they did not demand that that ship should be removed; and, if it were not

adment. He remarked that silence, such as should got up on that coast, when we are given a carte blanche to the Holy Book, "lead us not into temptation." Why, Mr. in favor of that expedition, and it was upon my motion removed, they would remove it themselves. What, sir! because they were operated upon by high and magnanic for president, I have a distinct recollection, when the drum that it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and the policy of this Government to be to station ships in mona feel, and the policy of this Government to be to station ships in the policy of this Government to be to station ships in the policy of this Government to be to station ships in the policy of this Government to be to station ships in the policy of this Government to be to station ships in the policy of this Government to be to station ships in the polic that it was organized; but is it of more importance to is the policy of this Government to be to station ships in survey unknown seas or to so place our naval force as to our ports for the purpose of preventing the people there is quiry is whether the Navy of the United States is properly distributed to protect our neutrality, our commerce, and national honor? That is the inquiry which I propose to hold any President to account who did it. I mean, of course, as a general policy, as a general mean, of course, as a general policy, as a general mean, of course, as a general policy, as a general mean, of course, as a general policy, as a general mean, of course, as a general policy, as a general mean, of course, as a general policy, as a general mean, of course, as a general policy, as a general mean, of course, as a general policy, as a general mean, of course, as a general policy, as a general mean, of course, as a general m every obligation due to other nations. We never can do it, sir, until both the great parties in this country concur in giving strength to the Executive arm of the Govern-ment sufficient to carry out our treaty obligations. Mr. GWIN. I have no desire to occupy the attention

of the Senate any 1 urther. All I have to say in reply to the Senator from \ 'irginia is, that if this proclamation means any thing, it means that the President of the Unitmatter. The city of San Francisco has a population of some sixty or eighty thousand inhabitants, as well armed, and perhaps better armed, than any population that you have not better armed, than any population that you have not better armed, the laws and the Constitution have placed in his hands and perhaps better armed, than any population that you the laws and the Constitution have placed in his hands can find on any other part of your coast border. If that population has neither the ability nor the means of prespecial authority on the subject, that the President has issued orders to the nava | and military commanders on the Pacific coast to do every thing which the Senator from Virginia says it would be a great outrage to authorize.

I am against using the navy for any such purpose as a Mr. MASON. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt preventive measure. I am against its going out to the him for a moment? Do I 1 inderstand him to say that the country that there is any necessity for such a use of the navy. And if the purpose of the resolution be to serve as an admonition to the President, as the sense of the navy to proceed in the execution of the laws at all, excess of the courts ? Mr. GWIN. I understand t. he power of the President of the United States to be, to see that the laws are faith-

made with foreign Gov-

ernments enforced by the laws ; and therefore I think that if, in his opinion, at any poi at of the United States, there is an expedition fitted out 1 y citizens of the United nother Government, in States against the territory of a violation of the treaties of the Uz ited States, he has the right to stop that expedition until i tis ascertained by the courts of the country whether it is illegal or not. That ubt such is the power ident. But how can place in the courts? you stop until this investigation takes that question now. Pennsylvania says ing the resolution, : I did not intend of that sort is issued against citizens of my State gettin g up expeditions, I wanted to state the acknowledged fact people of the tions; for they an invitation, if I may so say, from the country invaded to enter into such expedihave no Government, no protection, and the citizens of the United States, wherever they go, afford th which those people do not get from their nominal Gov-

fully executed, and the treaties

ernment. There was a great temptation; the expedition, no doubt about it.

Mr. BADGER. I would very respectfull. the Senator from California that I doubt very ope, at all til another events, the Senate will allow it to remain un so far as eady ant's mesnaval forces of the United States. And I think, as question of opinion for which it is proposed to at President by the resolution, whether the naval for him to answer the question whether he could have do

Then, after we have got the correct information, it wil be nothing but what we have now. It seems to me that the Senator from California had no idea of presenting the country, our seacoast, within the last four years, has been have been rejuctant or negligent in doing it, is, in some doubled, and it requires a much larger force to protect it degree, casting an implied censure upon him for the than was formerly required.

The divisions which have at previous times existed bethat; and I very respectfully suggest that the resolution transaction. I know the Senator does not mean to do

Mr. GWIN. The resolution was drawn up hastily; but facts properly presented to the country. I am willing to let the resolution be passed over; and if there is any thing to be corrected in its phraseology, I shall not be opposed

So the resolution was passed over.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The following gentlemen have been appointed the se-Vice President of the United States . Mr Ewing of Kentucky; Mr. May, of Maryland; Mr. BARKSDALE, of Mis sissippi; Mr. PARKER, of Indiana; Mr. BROOKS, of South Carolina; Mr. Hughes, of New York; Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts; Mr. KERR, of North Carolina; and Mr. WILLIS ALLEN, of Illinois.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE-INTERNAL IMPROVE-MENTS-NEW YORK POLITICS.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Onn, of South Carolina, in The committee resumed the consideration of the President's annual message to Congress.

Mr. KEITT, after a few preliminary remarks, address ed the Committee on that portion of the message which relates to tonnage duties as a means of carrying on internal improvements. He contended that the laying of such duties for such a purpose would be constitutional and expedient. He argued its constitutionality, first, from the words of the clause of the Constitution relating to this subject; secondly, from the history of its formation; and, thirdly, from its contemporaneous practical exposition. He then urged its expediency on the grounds that this system would secure economy both in the laying and collecting of taxes; that it would ensure success in the application of the fund: and that it would restore the evernment to its republican simplicity. In conclusion, measure suggested by the President.

Mr. HUGHES next obtained the floor, and went into a

discussion of the schism in the Democratic party of New York, in which several other members participated. Dur-

cupied by the "Softs" to be this: That they regard the compromise of 1850 as a full and final settlement of the the or Sonora

Mr. GROW then made some remarks in vindication

Mr. CUTTING, expressed a desire to reply to the speech of Mr. Hughes. Before proceeding with his remarks, however, he yielded to a motion that the committee rise, which being agreed to— The committee rose and the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1854.

This being private bill day, the following Senate pills on the Sr eaker's table were taken up, read twice, and appropriately referred: A bill confirming certain land claims in Louisians in the Bastrop grant.

A bill for the relief of Joseph Gideon A bill for the relief of M. K. Warrington and C. St. John Chubb, executors of Capt. Lewis Warrington and

A bill to incorporate the Pioneer Manufacturing Company of Georgetown, D. C.

A bill for the relief of Moses Olmstead.

A bill for the relief of Ezra Williams. A bill for the relief of John Fagan. A bill for the relief of the heirs of Judith Worthen. A bill to reimburse to the Common Council of New

ork city expenditures made for the first regiment of

New York volunteers.

A bill for the relief of Rebecca Freeman.

A bill for the relief of Charles A. Kellett. A bill for the relief of James Dunning.

A bill for the relief of Charles Cooper & Co. The bill granting the right of way to the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad through the arsenal, magazine, and Jefferson Barracks tracts, was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.
On motion of Mr. JONES, of Tennessee, the House

then went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Onn, of South Carolina, in the chair,) and resumed the consideration of the President's annual

message to Congress.

And the discussion of New York politics occupied the remainder of the day.